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CLASSICAL NAMES AND STORIES IN THE *Bēowulf* (continued).

IV.

The origins of the names of peoples are often shrouded in mystery, and such is the case with the name *Danes*, *Denmark*. Bugge's article, 'Om Folkenavnet Daner,'¹ is the standard one on the subject, and here the author expressly states that he desires his proposed explanation to be considered merely as a guess. After having reviewed the opinions of others concerning the origin and meaning of the name, he suggests that it may be connected with Irish *duine*, *dune*, 'man,' which is derived from **donios* and cognate with OE. *denu*, 'valley,' *denn*, 'cave, den.' *Danir* = OE. *Dene* (< **Dani-*) may, therefore, mean 'valedwellers, those that belong to the soil or are born in the land.' Its use may at first have been appellative to distinguish natives from foreigners, cf. *Deutsch*, the language of the people as opposed to Latin. In the closing paragraph of his article, Bugge says: 'Even the linguistic character of the name *Danes* shows that the origin of this name belongs to a time long, long—I may confidently say, 1000 years—before we first find it recorded.'

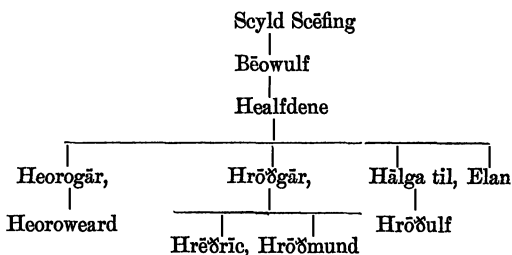
And when does the name first occur? In the sixth century, in the works of Procopius and Jordanes. It is remarkable that the name should not be found recorded before this time, since many neighboring peoples are mentioned several hundred years earlier (Cimbri, Charudi, Gauti, Swiones, etc.) But this may have been due to accident or to the possible restriction of the name *Danes* to a small tribe in the first centuries of the Christian era. The use of the name as embracing a number of related peoples dwelling in Southern Sweden, Jutland, Zealand, and other islands (cf. *Δανῶν τὰ ἔθνη*, Procopius, *B. G.*, II, 15), need not be much older than 500 A. D., and it may have been in a restricted use say 500 B. C., as Bugge suggests, although it is difficult to see any linguistic reason for such an estimate. If Bugge's conjecture concerning the etymological identity of the word be correct, it must indeed be a very old

word, but how is it possible to ascertain when its alleged appellative use first began?

The Mediæval notion (e. g. of Dudo) that the Danes owe their name as well as their origin to the Danai, the Greeks, had, of course, no other foundation than the evident similarity between the names *Danai* and *Dani*. Migration legends were common enough in Europe during the Middle Ages.² No modern scholar has considered it possible that the name *Danes* could have been borrowed from the Greek name *Danai* (Δαναοί). The idea seems so absurd that it probably has never been considered for a moment by any one. The corruption of the difficult form *Danai* to a simpler form **DaniR*(z) would seem to be natural enough provided a reason could be shown to exist for the borrowing of the name in any form. Such a reason would have to be in the nature of evidence showing the existence of a strongly developed migration-legend, or legend akin to this, in Denmark already some time before 500 A. D., a date not much earlier than the first mentions of the name *Danes*. It would have to be shown that the Danes had early identified themselves with the Greeks and that the delusion was so widespread and so deeply rooted that it could have led to the adoption of the name *Danai*, Prim. Dan. **DaniR*.

But I shall revert to this subject later, it being my present purpose merely to call attention to the unsolved problem of the origin of the name *Danes* and to its obvious similarity to the name *Danai*. I shall now discuss the Danish genealogy of *Bēowulf* and Scandinavian sources, and shall try to show that it is largely of Classical origin.

In the *Bēowulf* the genealogy is as follows:



The name or eponym *Scēfing* is by some scholars interpreted as 'son of Scēaf,' but others hold that

¹ *Arkiv f. nord. Filologi*, vol. v, pp. 125-131; cf. vol. vi, p. 236.

² Cf. Bugge, *Studier over de nordiske Gude- og Heltesagns Oprindelse*, p. 161 f.

it describes Scyld as the king 'with the sheaf' ("Scyld mit der garbe"—a sort of Triptolemus of the North), and that the Scēaf who in other English sources is represented to be the father of Scyld, owes his origin to an incorrect interpretation of the suffix *-ing*, *-ung*, this being dubious in meaning. The name *Bēowulf* is in this place usually held to be mistake for *Bēow* (*Bēaw*, *Bēawa*), for such is the form of the name in other sources.

Since this genealogy is a Danish one and of Danish origin, the question naturally arises whether it is here preserved in an originally Danish form, or whether it has received additions or suffered changes during the centuries that may have elapsed since its first arrival in England and the time of the composition of the *Bēowulf* in the form in which we now have this poem. It is the oldest extant source of the Scylding genealogy and it is natural to infer that the genealogy has here been preserved in a form much older than any of those found in the later Scandinavian sources. How much it was modified in England we do not know with certainty, but by a comparison of all the forms of the genealogy in English and Scandinavian sources it is possible, at least in part, to ascertain its original form. Neither Scēaf nor Bēaw occurs in any Scandinavian source (at least not in clearly equivalent or corresponding forms) and the conclusion lies near that these names are English additions to the genealogy. I do not, however, consider this to be entirely certain, but a full discussion of Scēaf and Bēaw would involve the taking up of so much material that I cannot adequately consider them here.

Since it cannot be proved that Scēaf and Bēaw represent figures in an old Danish prototype of the Scylding genealogy, I shall chiefly confine myself to a discussion of those names which are common to the chief sources.

At this point it would have been proper to cite the opinions of modern scholars on the reliability of the *Bēowulf* as a historical source—the marvelous deeds assigned to the hero Bēowulf being, of course, excluded from consideration. It is generally believed that Healfdene, Hrōðgār, Hālga, and Hrōðulf (Hrólfr kraki) are the names of actual, not mythical kings, and that the period

in which they lived embraced the second half of the fifth, and the first half of the sixth century of our era. From the accuracy with which the *Bēowulf* speaks of Hygelāc's (Chochilaicus) fatal expedition to the land of the Hetware (Chat-tuarii), as we read about this in Gregory of Tours, the general accuracy of the poem with respect to details concerning the early Danish kings is considered to be established as a great probability.

The existence of a widely cultivated and greatly developed epic poetry concerning the Scylding kings might seem to be best explained by the assumption that there really was a great historical period corresponding in the main to that described with such great verisimilitude, and worthy of being made the subject of poetic treatment. The descriptions, characterizations, and localizations of persons and events have all the appearance of corresponding to reality. This does not, however, necessarily imply historical truth, but surely poetic truth, and is primarily evidence of a high literary art. With the single exception already mentioned no name or event mentioned in the *Bēowulf* is found in what are commonly recognized as historical sources. Of the Scylding kings we know nothing that can be surely distinguished as coming from other than some poetic source.³

In the form of the genealogy recorded in the *Bēowulf* there is especially one feature which should long ago have been made the starting-point for testing its genuineness as a historical source. For the sake of convenience, however, I shall, as far as possible, discuss the names of the Danish kings in their chronological order, leaving this feature to be discussed in its turn. I need hardly say that all foreign names do not crop out with equal clearness, but it is equally clear that the names must be considered as a group as well as individually, and that no conclusion with

³ The famous battle on the Bråvellir in Sweden may here be mentioned as an interesting example of pseudo-history. Cf. Jessen, *Undersøgelser til nordisk Oldhistorie*, København, 1862, p. 35: "Concerning this battle we know nothing more or nothing less than the fact that there was a song about it"; and p. 77: "The Braavalla-battle concerns neither history nor ethnography. Its date is not to be determined." With this conclusion is now to be compared Bugge's 'Norsk Sagafortælling og Sagaskrivning i Irland' in (norsk) *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 1901, 1. Hefte, p. 78—2. Hefte, 1903, p. 156.

respect to individual names has been adequately judged unless it be considered in the light of the whole material.

The "mythical" character of Scyld is universally granted, but it remains to be seen whether he is of native Danish or of foreign origin. I believe that the name *Scyld* (*Skjöld*) may very well be a translation of the name *Argus*. According to Greek legends, Argus was the third king of Argos in Greece, but he became the founder of a new dynasty. From him the Greeks are said to have been called *Argivi* (*Ἀργεῖοι*), 'Argives,' a name which was used by Homer side by side with the name *Danai* (*Δαναοί*), 'Danaans.' The translation of the name *Argus* as *Scyld*, 'shield, protector, guardian,' could easily be accounted for as due to a mingling of the Argus legend with that of Argus Panoptes, the 'all-seeing Argus,' who had a hundred eyes, and who was by Juno appointed guardian⁴ of Io, whom she had metamorphosed into a cow. Even to-day an Argus means a 'sharp-eyed, watchful person, a guardian,'⁵ and there are numerous newspapers bearing the name *Argus*, 'shielder or guardian of public interests.' The dog of Odysseus was also most fittingly named *Argus*. From a Mediæval point of view I can find no fault with the translation of *Argus* as 'shield.' The real etymological meaning of the word need not concern us.

That *Scyld* is a translation of *Argus* (*custos*) may not seem to be very obvious, and I am well aware that it is not, by itself considered, very probable. But if *Scyld* belongs to the group of names which follow, then I can find no other explanation for his name. If the group of names which follow have an origin independent of that of *Scyld* the case is different, but everything points to the original unity of the "Scylding" kings as a group.

The next name in the genealogy, passing over *Bæw*, is *Healfdene*, a curious and rare name beginning with the element 'half.'⁶ Bugge⁷ supposes that this name must have originated from the name of a people not Danes in the full

sense of the word, but "Half-Danes," and he supports this conjecture by a reference to *Bēowulf* 1070, where the form *Healf-Dena*, gen. pl., occurs. But this reading is not absolutely certain, and editors have emended it to *Healfdenes*, there being nowhere in literature, either in English or in Scandinavian, any reference to a people called "Half-Danes." The scribe could here most easily have made a slip. He had written the nom. pl. and gen. pl. forms *Dene*, *Dena*, so often that the latter might in an unguarded moment be substituted for the apparently anomalous form (*Healf*)*denes*, the form *Dene*, although historically both singular and plural, never being employed in the singular in the *Bēowulf*. He has very naturally been controlled by his habit of thinking about *Dene*, *Dena*, as plural forms. There is, therefore, no certain example of a word **Healf-Dene* as the name of a people from which a sg. *Healfdene* might have been derived, although such a process is within the bounds of possibility. A similar explanation of the name might perhaps just as well be sought in an assumption that *Healfdene's* mother may have been a foreign woman⁸ and that he was therefore a "half-Dane," but such a method of naming a child does not seem either attractive or obvious.

There is still another possible way in which the name *Healfdene* may have originated. It may be, and I think that it very probably is, a translation of the name *Diomedes Argivus*⁹ or *Diomedes Graivus*,¹⁰ possibly of *Diomedes Danaus*, each of these names meaning 'the Greek or Danaan Diomedes,' one of the greatest heroes of the Greeks before Troy and King of Argos, not, indeed, as the successor of Argus in any genealogy with which I am familiar, but of Adrastus. The translator has connected the name *Diomedes* with the Latin adjective *dimidius*, 'half,' an etymology which is really a splendid one when compared with the many ridiculous and monstrous etymologies with which Mediæval books on grammar are filled, for there is actually great likeness between *Diomedes* and *dimidius*. The translation of *Argivus*, *Graivus*, or *Danaus*, as 'Dene' would

⁴ *Junoneus custos* is a frequent epithet of Argus.

⁵ Cf. *Standard Dictionary*, s. v. *Argus*.

⁶ Cf. OHG. *Halbdurinc*, *Halbwalah*; Müllenhoff, *Beowulf*, p. 24.

⁷ *Beitr.*, vol. xii, p. 29.

⁸ Cf. the name *Wealhðeow*, Hrōðgār's queen, which suggests that she was a 'foreigner.'

⁹ Livy, Bk. xxv, xii.

¹⁰ Cf. *Graio Diomede*, Sil. Ital., *Punic. Lib.*, ix, 63.

naturally arise from an interpretation of these words as equivalent to 'Danish,' cf. *Scyldingas* = *Dene* in the *Bēowulf*.

There is one matter in connection with the name *Healfdene* which seems to corroborate the explanation I have offered. In *Bēowulf*, 57, he is called *hēah Healfdene*, 'the lofty or noble Healfdene,' and in the ON. *Hymdöljóð*, 14, 4, *Halfdanr* is described as *hæstr Skjöldunga*, 'highest of the Scyldings.' The epithet *hēah*, *hæstr*, is surely an old one and does not belong to Healfdene in these two widely separated poems by a mere accident. In an alliterative poetry it is of course difficult to determine whether the epithet *hēah* is due to a foreign material or to a native impulse, but it is at least worthy of note that *hēah Healfdene* corresponds with remarkable exactness to Greek *ὑπερβυμος Διομήδης*, 'the high-hearted Diomedes,' an epithet which could be represented in Latin epic poetry by the frequent epic epithet *altus*,¹¹ 'high.'

It is still possible further, and I believe more definitely, to confirm the Classical origin of the name *Healfdene*, and this may be done with material found in the *Widsið*. In this poem, l. 23, we read: *Mearchealf* [wēold] *Hundingum*. The name *Mearchealf* has been a puzzling one since it seems meaningless to assume that the two elements of this name can be identical with *mearc*,¹² 'boundary, (boundary-) district,' and *healf*, 'half.' And the editors and commentators have naturally struggled hard to set aside the written word and to substitute *Mearcealf*, *Mearcwulf*, *Marculf*.¹³ Fortunately, the word *Mearchealf*,

¹¹See Carter's *Epitheta deorum* in Roscher's *Lexicon*; *altus* is used with the names *Hercules*, *Jason*, *Orestes*, *Jupiter*, etc.

¹²Cf. OS. *marka*, 'district,' ON. *mork*, 'forest, uncultivated field,' Norw. dial. *mark*, 'field,' *mork*, 'wooded district'; etc.

¹³Cf. Grein-Wülker, I, p. 2; Bugge, *Home of the Eddic Poems*, p. 181 (orig. ed., p. 171): "Can this *Mearchealf* be the same as *Marculf*?" . . . (p. 182) "If *Mearchealf* is the same as *Marculf*, then the author of *Wids.* thought of the *Hundings* as a people far in the east. By the *Hundings* were doubtless originally meant those who were unbelievers in Christianity; for 'a heathen hound' is an expression common among Germanic peoples." (*Marculf* = the Jewish idol *Marcolis*, hence his rôle as an opponent of Solomon, cf. Notker and the OE. poem *Solomon and Saturn* of the ninth century.)

absurd as it may seem to be and really is, is preserved in its original form in the *Widsið* and it is, therefore, possible clearly to recognize its source. Its originator has obtained some information on ancient history and geography. He has heard what was no doubt originally intended to convey the information that *Cannæ* or *Cannusium* was situated in the *Campus Diomedis*,¹⁴ and he has received this in, or misconstrued it into, the form that a king or prince *Campus Diomedis* ruled over the people of *Cannæ* or *Cannusium*. *Campus Diomedis* has been rendered with the same fidelity which characterizes the translation of *Diomedes Argivus* as '*Healfdene*': *Campus* = '*mearc*,' *Diomedis* = *dimidius* = '*healf*'; hence '*Mearchealf*,' a word which by its very absurdity is proved to be a literal translation of a foreign name. As an example of a translation *Mearchealf* is thus especially reliable, and its reliability is further enhanced by the fact that it occurs in connection with *Hundings*—which is surely a translation reproducing the *Cannæ* or *Cannusium*, which occurs in connection with a *Campus Diomedis*. Either of these names would most naturally be connected with *canis*, 'hound, dog,' and the people of *Cannæ* or *Cannusium* would thus reasonably be called *Hundings*, cf. *hund*, 'canis, dog.' The occurrence of *Mearchealf* and *Hundings* on the one hand, and of *Campus Diomedis* and *Cannæ*, *Cannusium*, on the other, is surely not an accidental grouping, and the possibility of error in regard to the dependence of the former upon the latter would seem to be eliminated in a case like this.

But now we have arrived at a point in the Danish genealogy where its Classical origin may be most clearly demonstrated by means of evidence drawn from a group of names closely associated, and the clearness with which this may be done can not easily be ignored in its bearing on the names already considered. *Healfdene*—*Diomedes* the Greek—has four children, *Heorogār*, *Hrōðgār*, *Hālga* the Good, and a daughter whose name has been very much in doubt. The passage is as follows (59 ff.):

¹⁴Cf. Livy, Bk. xxv, xii: *priore carmine Cannensis prædicta clades in hæc fere verba erat: "amnem Troiugena Romane fuge Cannam, ne te alienigenæ cogant in campo Diomedis conserere manus . . ." et Diomedis Argivi campos et Cannam flumen, etc.*

þæm (i. e. Healfdene) fēower bearn forðgerīmed
 in worold wōcon : weoroda ræswa
 Heorogār, ond Hrōðgār ond Hālgā til ;
 hȳrde ic þæt elan cwēn
 Heaðo-Scilfingas heals-gebedda.

Line 62 is unfortunately incomplete, material equal in amount to a half-line having been omitted by the scribe, for there is no erasure or other defect in the manuscript in this place. This half-line surely contained the name of the Heaðo-Scilfing referred to in the following line. Whether the name of Healfdene's daughter is also lost has been a matter of much controversy. Some scholars have considered *elan* to be her name, and they have supposed that the missing half-line followed *cwēn* : *hȳrde ic þæt Elan cwēn* [*Ongenðēowes wæs*]. Others have thought that the missing words belonged immediately before *elan*, which has been identified as the last part of the name (weak decl.) of the Heaðo-Scilfing : *hȳrde ic þæt* [*N. N. wæs On*] *elan cwēn*. These are the more important old attempts to reconstruct the line.¹⁵ A more recent one—and the most brilliant of them all—aims to supply both names and to authorize them by a reference to the Icelandic *Hrólfs saga kraka*, where a daughter of Halfdanr (Healfdene), Signý by name, is said to marry the jǫrll Sævil : *hȳrde ic þæt* [*Sigenēow wæs Sæw*] *elan cwēn*.¹⁶ So convincing has this conjecture seemed that it appears to be all but universally accepted.¹⁷ Those who still have doubts concerning its correctness probably feel that the late *Hrólfs saga kraka* is not as good or as reliable a source as, for example, Saxo and others who know nothing about an alleged daughter Signý. The *Hrólfs saga* is, indeed, of such a character that its combinations with respect to persons and incidents can surely not be used with any confidence in a case like the present, for even if *elan* were the ending of a name of the weak declension it would not be without great risk to connect it with the ON. name *Sevil*.¹⁸

¹⁵ See Grein-Wülker, I, pp. 151 f., and other editions and commentators.

¹⁶ Kluge, *Engl. Stud.*, vol. XXII, pp. 144 f.

¹⁷ [Heyne-]Socin, *Bēowulf*, 7th ed., 1903, has adopted Kluge's emendation, transferring it from the notes of the 6th ed. into his present text.

¹⁸ Bugge, *Home of the Eddic Poems*, p. 177 (167), says that the name is *Sevil* and identifies it with the OE. name *Seafola* (*Wids.*), whose historical prototype he considers to be the East-Roman *Sabinianus*.

In order to obtain a solution of the difficulty, one must start out by granting that *Elan* really does look very much like the name of a woman. Its resemblance to the name of the heroine in Cynewulf's *Elene*, for example, is sufficiently great to warrant the preliminary assumption that *Elan* and *Elene* may be variant forms of the same name.¹⁹ It is an absurdity to conclude that *Elan* cannot be the name of Healfdene's daughter for the reason that it does not look like a Scandinavian or Anglo-Saxon name.²⁰ The form in which we have the *Bēowulf* is so late that we can easily conceive of a foreign name *Elan*, *Helena*, being attributed to the daughter of a Scandinavian king through a new combination on English ground. The Danish genealogy in the *Bēowulf* is surely a very old one, but we do not know how much the English have modified it.²¹ *Elan* may be an English creation of the eighth century, and with this possibility in mind the temptation to regard *elan* as anything but a woman's name should be small.

But now we must try to discover whether *Elan*, 'Helen,' is an integral part of the genealogy or whether she is an English addition to it. The form which this test must assume is now an obvious one. It must be investigated whether she is identical with the most famous of all Helens, the Greek Ἑλένη, the wife of Menelaus, of Paris, of Deiphobus, and again of Menelaus. If she is the Greek Helen, then it is possible that two of her three brothers may be the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux. Are the Dioscuri, the brothers of Helen, ever grouped together with a third person? The answer is a very definite and decisive one. They are in two known instances closely associated with Æneas, once on a painting of Parrhasios, as we are told by Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxv, 71 (*Laudantur et Æneas Castorque ac Pollux in eadem tabula*), and once on an Attic

¹⁹ With Socin's adoption of Kluge's emendation in l. 62 has followed the omission of a very valuable note : "Die frauennamen *Elan*, bisher im ags. noch nicht nachgewiesen findet sich im ahd. als *Elana*, *Ellena*, *Elena*, *Elina*, *Alyan*, cf. Förstemann, *Namenb.* I, 66 f." (6th ed. p. 85).

²⁰ Kluge, *l. c.*, p. 144 : "In der that kann auch ich nicht glauben, dass *Elan* ein ae. frauennamen sein soll ; die von Heyne beigebrachten ahd. namensparallelen haben keinerlei gewicht."

²¹ Cf. Jessen, *Undersøgelser*, p. 49.

vase.²² From this fact we may at once grant the possibility that one of Helen's three "brothers" may be Æneas, and there need not, I think, be a moment's hesitation in regard to his identity. In this so-called Danish genealogy he is represented by *Hālga til*, 'Pious the Good.' The translator has not attempted to obtain a word corresponding to Æneas, but has chosen the easier way of translating the epithet *pius*, which is of very frequent occurrence in Latin poetry, especially in Virgil's *Æneid*, and which he thoroughly understood, for no objection can be made to *hālga*, 'holy,' as a faithful translation of *pius*. Whether the epithet *til*, 'good,' is simply a reinforcement of the name *Hālga* or based upon *bonus Æneas* (cf. *Æneid*, v, 770, xi, 106), it is difficult to decide, but it is not at all unlikely that the latter is the case, since material in which *pius Æneas* was mentioned is not unlikely to have brought also *bonus Æneas* with it.

The presence of the name *Elan* (one would expect the name originally to have been *Helan*, since all names in this group begin with *H*) and the exactness with which *Hālga til* corresponds to *pius*, *bonus Æneas*, are surely strong indications that we are now on the right track; but objection might no doubt be made that (H)Elan is not surely the name of Healfdene's daughter and that the likeness of the name *Hālga* to *pius* may be accidental. Besides, *pius* is by no means confined to Æneas, but might have occurred in connection with some other name. Light on the problem is to be obtained from an investigation of the question whether Heorogār and Hrōðgār actually represent Castor and Pollux, but there is one point which bears more directly on the identity of *Hālga* which it is more convenient to discuss at this time.

²² Cf. Rossbach in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s. v. *Aineias*, vol. i, col. 1018: "Dass Aineias, Kastor und Polydeukes auf einem bilde des Parrhasios, wie Plinius n. h. xxxv, 71, ausdrücklich bemerkt, vereinigt waren, könnte auffallen, wenn es nicht auch eine attische rf. vase freien stils gäbe, auf welcher dieselben drei inschriftlich bezeichneten helden dem kampf des Oidipus mit der Sphinx zuschauen (*Journal of Hell. Stud.*, viii, taf. lxxxix = *Wiener Vorlegebl.*, 1889, taf. ix. 9a). Entweder haben die künstler kein bedenken getragen, den wie bei Xenoph. *de venat.* i, 15, mit den Griechen befreundeten A. neben den griechischen heroen darzustellen, oder dieser A. hat mit dem troischen helden nichts zu thun."

It is to be inferred from the *Bēowulf* that Hrōðulf is the son of Hālga, although this is not expressly stated. Hrōðulf is the same figure as Roluus crace, Rolf krake, Hrólfr kraki, of the Scandinavian sources. Stories were invented to account for the epithet *kraki*, literally, 'a pole,' attempts being made to explain it as due to his personal appearance, and this is, indeed, the modern view also. As a personal epithet *kraki* means 'small, slender, and weak,' and the explanation given by Saxo²³ is universally discredited. "The only meaning," says Olrik,²⁴ "which is really warranted for a person who is called 'krake' is 'a small, weak person, weakling.'" It is, indeed, as Olrik says, "somewhat surprising that the greatest heroic king in the North should bear such a nickname," and it can not be assumed that it is of late origin, since the growth and spread of his fame would render the origin of such an epithet more and more unlikely as time went on. But the solution which Olrik offers for the difficulty is not the only possible one, when he says that it must be a survival from Rolf krake's historical life and not a poetic invention: "The Shielding king, son of Helge (Hālga), must have been such a figure as to call forth the name krake"; and he draws some comfort from the consideration that the nickname may be a witticism or an exaggeration, not an evidence of a sickly weakling.²⁵

²³ Cf. Saxo, translated by Elton, p. 69: "A youth named Wigg, scanning with attentive eye the bodily size of Rolf, and smitten with great wonder thereat, proceeded to inquire in jest who was that "krage" whom Nature in her bounty had endowed with such towering stature? meaning humorously to banter his uncommon tallness. For "krage" in the Danish tongue means a tree-trunk, whose branches are pollarded, and whose summit is climbed in such wise that the foot uses the lopped timbers as supports," etc.—Saxo was a Zealander and was unfamiliar with *kraki* as a personal epithet.

²⁴ *Danmarks Høtledigining*, København, 1903, p. 186.

²⁵ Olrik also mentions the possibility that Hrólfr kraki may have got his nickname on account of his being of giant stature. The origin of the name would in such a case be comparable to that of "Shorty" in college-nicknames for any exceptionally tall young man. But he dismisses this as improbable in favor of the view mentioned above. Hrólfr is thus the Napoleon, the "Little Corporal," of the North, and the name *kraki* must have been lovingly, even if jocularly, bestowed.

The meaning of *kraki* is 'withered, undeveloped, tree, branch, slender pole,' hence, 'small or insignificant horse,' and 'small, slender, sickly person' (cf. ON. *krók*, 'bend, hook,' Norw. dial. *krok*, 'wretched person,' lit. 'crooked, bent person'). Since it has already been shown that Hálga (Helgo, Helgi) is very probably Æneas, it may be assumed that Hröðulf-Hrólfkraki is one of the legendary sons of Æneas. In several sources (see Roscher, vol. I, p. 182) Romulus is represented to be the son of Æneas,²⁶ not of Mars, as in the usual accounts, or he is the son of a daughter of Æneas. In Saxo Helgo (Hálga) commits rape on Thora, who bears a daughter Yrsa, who becomes, by her own father, the mother of Rolvo crace, and the same story, with variations, is also found in other Scandinavian sources. This feature may be a combination of two forms of the story of the birth of Romulus, the rape feature which was connected with Mars having been transferred to Æneas (Helgo). The Scandinavian Helgo, Helgi, has a character directly opposed to what his name 'Holy, Pious,' should imply, sensual love being his chief characteristic, and this is not less strange than the facts mentioned in connection with Hrólfkraki. But this similarity between the Scandinavian and Classical accounts is not sufficient to identify Hrólfkraki with Romulus without accompanying evidence of a more definite character.

What is the origin of the epithet *kraki* (lit. 'slender branch or pole') which is surely a very old one, as old as the "historical" king Hrólfkr, or as old as his legendary origin? The solution of this problem will, I believe, make it almost a certainty that Hrólfkraki represents Romulus. The word *kraki* is here, in my opinion, a translation of the Roman epithet *trabeatus*, 'dressed in or wearing a trabea, a robe of state of augurs, kings and knights.' This epithet is applied to Romulus (Quirinus) in Ovid, *Met.* 14,828, and in *F.* 1,37: *trabeati Quirini*, and it is not unlikely to have appeared in poetic material which brought to the North the names *Diomedes Argivus* (*Grainus*, *Danaus*), *Helena*, and *pius*, *bonus Æneas*. The translator has very naturally con-

nected *trabeatus*, which he did not understand, with *trabs*, 'a beam, a timber, a tree,' = *kraki*, 'a slender pole or tree.'

Hálga the Good is thus shown to be Æneas, and it is clear that the name 'Holy One' is not an accidental equivalent to *pius*, which is an epithet peculiarly Æneas's own. The commanding position of Hrólfkraki in Danish heroic poetry corresponds well with that of his great prototype in Roman legend. The "trabeated" Romulus holds his own on Northern soil in spite of his unfortunate name; the character of pious Æneas as a heroic figure is not controlled by his name 'Holy One.' The influence of names upon conceptions and stories is, indeed, often very great, but it has its limits, and names have often functions as mere names serving to identify figures, legendary and historical, and their meanings are frequently lost sight of.

The value of the clue which has been found in the name *Elan* has already been sufficiently demonstrated. We must now consider the question whether Heorogär and Hröðgär are proved also by other considerations to be identical with Castor and Pollux. They are, as in the two Classical art-sources already mentioned, closely associated with Æneas, and their sister is Helen. It is, I believe, possible further to identify them, and to decide who is Castor and who is Pollux. We are naturally inclined to expect the names in the order Castor and Pollux (= Heorogär and Hröðgär), but this is not evidence, since the names often occur also in the order Pollux and Castor.

Castor and Pollux were members of the Argonautic expedition. When this reached Bebrycia in Asia Minor, they were met by Amycus, king of the Bebrycians, a son of Poseidon and of the nymph Melie. He challenged the best among the Argonauts to single combat. Pollux accepted the challenge and slew him after a fierce struggle (Ap. Rhodius). According to Theocritus (*Idylls*, 22, 27-134) Castor and Pollux meet Amycus in a wood where he is guarding a spring, permitting no one to drink from it unless he shall be willing to engage with him in a fist fight. The pugilist Pollux accepts the challenge and subdues him, but does not kill him. He permits him to swear by his father Poseidon that he will be friendly to strangers in the future.

²⁶ Cf. *Plutarch's Lives*, tr. by Langhorne, vol. I, p. 58: "Some say he (Romulus) was son of Æneas and Dexithea, the daughter of Phorbus," etc.

This story is surely the ultimate source of the story of Hröðgār's relations with the Heaðo-beardan, 'Warlike Beards,' enemies of the Danes, to whose prince Ingeld he gives his daughter Frēawaru, in order to secure a lasting peace between the two peoples. Ingeld's father Frōða has previously fallen in a battle with the Danes, and he finally breaks the truce in order to secure revenge, in spite of *wif-lufu* (l. 2066). The conclusion of the feud is learned from *Widsið*, 45-49: "Hröðwulf and Hröðgār, uncle and nephew, lived long together in peace after they had banished the race of the Vikings, bent Ingeld's spear, and cut down at Heorot the host of the Heaðo-bards." I believe that the Classical source of this episode was epic in character and that it was in so far, at least, in accordance in form with Valerius Flaccus' *Argonauticon*, bk. iv, 118 ff., that Amycus was described as *inops Amycus* (iv, 296), *inops*, 'helpless, poor in strength,' because he was unable to cope with the superior strength of Pollux. The translator has taken each element of the word *inops* in its "literal" meaning: *in-* as '*In-*' and *-ops*, 'power, might, substance, wealth,' as '*-geld*,' hence '*In-geld*'²⁷ (ON. *In-gjaldr*²⁸). The *Heaðobeardan*, 'Warlike Beards,' which modern scholars have believed to be a historical people,²⁹ either identical with the Herulians, or with a remnant of the Lombards, have an origin like that of the prince Ingeld. The difficult name *Bebrycii* has been corrupted into, or identified with, the word *barbarici*, 'barbarous,' and translated by means of the word *barba*, 'beard.' It is possible that the *Bebrycii* may have been described, as barbarians not infrequently are, as *bellicosi*, 'bellicose, warlike,' but it is not necessary to assume such an origin for the first element of the name, which is hardly more than a conventional epithet. It could easily arise from the

fact that the "Beards" were opponents of the Danes (Greeks) in war; cf. also *Heaðo-Scilfing*, *Heaðo-rēamas*, *Heaðo-lāf*. The whole story is thus in short this: Hröðgar-Pollux pacifies Ingeld—inops Amycus, king of the warlike Beards—*Bebrycii* (*barbarici*). The introduction of a father (*Frōða* = 'Old Man, Father') into the story, whose death in battle is made to account for the feud, and of a marriage to allay it, are features so conventional in character that they in no wise militate against the view here set forth.

The names *Heorogār*, *Hröðgār*, *Heoroweard*, *HRēðric*, *Hröðmund*, and *Hröðulf* do not seem to be translations of Classical names. The first two and the last of these correspond to *Castor*, *Pollux*, and *Romulus*, but they have all the appearance of having been selected with the alliterative requirements of verse in mind.³⁰ Some of these names may have belonged to historical persons or kings, but there is no way of determining whether this be so or not. There is still one point to be mentioned which seems further to show that the Dioscuri are represented by *Heorogār* and *Hröðgār*, whatever be the chance which has given them these names. In *Bēowulf*, 467, *Hröðgār* tenderly refers to the death of his brother *Heorogār* in the following words: *Sē wæs betera ðonne ic*, "he was better than I." May not this be a trace of the beautiful Classical story concerning the loving relationship which existed between the two twin-brothers? When the mortal *Castor* dies *Pollux* prays that he also may be permitted to die, and *Zeus* permits him to spend alternately one day with the gods in heaven, where he belongs, the next in *Hades* with his beloved brother. According to another story, they are placed, on account of their brotherly love, in the heavens as the constellation *Gemini*. Such a coincidence between the account in the *Bēowulf* and in Classical sources may not be of much importance, but there is at least nothing to indicate that *Heorogār* and *Hröðgār* have historical prototypes which have been accidentally identified with the Dioscuri.

²⁷ Cf. the similar words, OE. *in-æterness*, 'possession,' *in-hera*, 'home army'; *in-feng*, 'hostile grasp.'

²⁸ Noreen, *Urgerm. Lautl.*, p. 13, identifies *Ingioldr* with OE. *Ing*, as if *Ingi-ald*, but *Ingiold* may just as regularly be from *In-geld*, cf. ON. *gialda*, 'to pay' = OE. *gielðan* = Goth. *gildan*.

²⁹ Cf. Bugge, *Home of the Eddic Poems*, p. 161 (153), foot-note: "With Müllenhoff and most other scholars I regard the account of the battle with the *Headhobards*, in *Bēowulf*, as historical." Cf. *Detter, Beitr.*, vol. xviii, pp. 90 ff.

³⁰ Olrik, p. 22 f., finds in the alliteration evidence of the historical character of the names. Granted that alliteration was a principle in the giving of names in real life in the Period of Migrations, poetry would naturally simulate real life as well as follow its own laws.

The combination of a selected native name with an epithet obtained from a Classical source is a procedure which has been illustrated by the name *Hrólfr kraki*, the *Hrōðulf* of *Bēowulf*. Another example of this may perhaps be found in the name *Hrærekr slængvanbaugi*, a contemporary of *Hrólfr kraki*, who corresponds to *Hrēðric*, a "son" of *Hrōðgār*, in the *Bēowulf*. *Slængvanbaugi* means 'ring-slinger' or '-thrower,' and it appears nowhere except in connection with this name. Stories were invented in order to account for it, that in Saxo being typical: Rorik attempts to throw six bracelets into the hands of another person, but they fall short and drop into the sea.⁸¹ Now, there is in Icelandic sources also a *Hrærekr hnægvanbaugi*, 'a niggardly giver of rings,' and the question arises which epithet is the original one. It seems probable that *hnægvanbaugi* is later formed on the pattern of *slængvanbaugi*,⁸² for the two *Hræreks* are surely identical, there being but one *Hrēðric* in the *Bēowulf*. The position which *Hrærekr* occupies varies in the different sources. In some he is the successor of *Hrólfr kraki*,—of Romulus. It is possible that he may represent Ancus Martius, the third king after Romulus, who bears, in poetry, the epithet *jactantior* (*Ancus*), a word which would not to the unsophisticated suggest the meaning 'boastful,' or 'proud, noble,' but which would be likely to receive a literal interpretation: *jactantior* is from *jactare*, 'to throw,' and the first element of the epithet *slængvan-baugi* would thus be naturally accounted for. But, how did the translator arrive at his translation of *Ancus* as 'ring'? Its similarity to *anulus*, 'ring,' is not very great and we would hardly expect him to know that *ancus* means 'bent,' cf. Gr. *ἄγκος*, 'a glen, a dell,' lit. 'a bend, a hollow,' *ἀγκών*, 'the bend of the arm, the elbow'; Lat. *uncus*, 'hook,' Gr. *ῥγκος*, 'hook, barb, angle,' etc. Was his translation of *Ancus* determined by the meaning which he saw

in *jactantior* coupled with the fact that epithets descriptive of kings so often concern the liberal distribution of gold, ornaments, and, especially, rings?⁸³ If the word *jactantior* suggested to the translator a king so liberal that he thought of him as "throwing" his gifts broadcast, is it not possible that rings, *baugar*, a form of gift most suitable to the character of an old Germanic king, would naturally occur to him as the most obvious complement to the first element 'throw'? That *Hrærekr slængvanbaugi* represents *jactantior* Ancus is made probable also by another consideration. In Saxo the Hamlet story is loosely attached to Roricus (*Hrærekr*, *Hrēðric*) and occupies about the same place chronologically as the Brutus story in Roman legends. The similarity which exists between the Hamlet and the Brutus stories has often been observed, and an attempt has been made to show that the former is really identical with the latter, the name *Hamlet*, 'fool,' being explained as a translation of the name *Brutus*, 'fool.'⁸⁴ Following *jactantior* Ancus the Tarquins and Brutus are the chief figures of interest in Roman history.⁸⁵ The similarity between the Classical and the Northern stories is surely not an accidental one. In the same connection it must not be forgotten that the Danish legends of Hother and Balder, which in Saxo occupy a place immediately before those concerning Roric and Hamlet, have also been considered to be of Classical origin.⁸⁶ All these facts are surely of significance for the whole subject and they need to be re-studied and correlated, but I cannot here attempt to do more than to refer to them in the briefest possible way.

⁸³ Cf. ON. *baug-broti*, 'ring-breaker, a liberal giver of rings,' OE. *bæga brytta*, *sinces brytta*, *bæg-gifa*; the importance of rings, bracelets, etc. (cf. OE. *earn-*, *healsbæg*) in old Germanic treasures is well known. The translation of Lat. *nigromantia* as 'Black Art' is based upon a general inference, not upon a precise knowledge of the meaning of the second element *-mantia*.

⁸⁴ F. Detter, 'Die Hamletsage,' *Zeitschrift f. deutsches Altertum*, vol. xxxvi (1892), pp. 1 ff.; cf. Elton and Powell, pp. 398-411, Olrik, *Saksnes Oldhistorie*, p. 163.

⁸⁵ Cf. Vergil, *Æneid*, vi, 815 ff.:

Quem (Tullus) iuxta sequitur iactantior Ancus,
nunc quoque iam nimium gaudens popularibus auris.
Vis et Tarquinius reges, animamque superbam
ultoris Bruti, fascesque videre receptos?

⁸⁶ Bugge, *Studier*, pp. 79 ff.

⁸¹ Cf. Elton, p. 103.

⁸² Bugge, *Studier*, i, p. 164, is inclined to the opposite view. It may be mentioned in this place that Bugge has here anticipated Sarrazin (*Engl. Stud.*, vol. xxiv, p. 144) and Olrik (*Danm. Helteed.*, p. 34), in recognizing *Hrærekr hnægvanbaugi* in Saxo's line, *Qui natum Böki Röriceum stravü wari*, in which Rörice is represented to be the son of the miser Bök: *hnægvanbaugi* has been taken to mean 'the miserly Bök' (ODan. *bök*.)

Since it is clear that the Danish genealogy is of foreign origin, the question must arise whether it is possible to discover the reason why it was borrowed and localized in Denmark, and many will surely ask: Is there any better reason to be found for this strange procedure than that which lies in the similarity between the names *Danir* and *Danai*? This similarity could most easily lead to an identification of Danes and Greeks and thus to the adoption of a Græco-Roman legendary genealogy. I do not think that this can be confidently accepted as a final answer to the riddle. The reason may have been another, and the names *Danir* and *Danai* may have played only a small rôle (cf. the name *Healfdene*) in the formation of the legends. The sources of information are silent concerning the name *Danir* until the sixth century, and we do not know with certainty how or when it originated. Neither do we know when the Scylding genealogy originated, for its localization in time apparently just before the dawn of authentic history (cf. Hygelâc's expedition in Gregory of Tours) does not settle this question. Its origin may be placed very far back of 500 A. D. without violation of the evidence of Northern archæology with respect to Southern culture in early Denmark. All indications point to the existence in Denmark of an extraordinary culture in the Period of Migrations, but few will be ready to believe that a poetry of culture could in this period have foisted a foreign name upon a whole people.

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THE SOURCE OF J. E. SCHLEGEL'S COMEDY *Die Stumme Schönheit*.

The authors generally assumed to have served as models for the best German comedy before Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*, namely, J. E. Schlegel's *Die stumme Schönheit*, are Molière and Destouches.¹ But this play shows a far more striking similarity, both in character and expression, to a comedy which was produced on the

Hamburg stage for the first time in August, 1741, *Der Bookesbeutel*, by Hinrich Borkenstein.² The plot of the *Bookesbeutel*, which, in spite of its local character, soon became widely known, is, in a few words, as follows:—Ehrenreich, a rich and well-educated young man, comes to Hamburg with the intention of espousing the sister of his college friend Sittenreich. This sister, however, whose education, both mental and moral, has been neglected by her mother Agneta and her miserly father Grobian, has to call in the help of her modest friend Charlotte, to teach her how to converse with educated people, and even, if need be, to prompt her in the course of conversation.³ Unfortunately, the intended bridegroom, instead of falling in love with the daughter of the house, does so with the despised Charlotte, whom he presents as his bride to the dismayed parents of the Jungfer Susanna. This is not the only motive of the play, but it is the one round which all the action turns, all the other developments, *e. g.*, Sittenreich's proposal to Ehrenwert's sister, being of quite minor importance. And this is the motive which Schlegel has turned to such good account in *Die Stumme Schönheit*. Jungwitz has come up from the country with the express purpose of marrying Charlotte, the supposed daughter of his old friend Richard. Charlotte, however, has been brought up by Frau Praatgern just as deplorably as Susanna in the *Bookesbeutel*. Lenore, the supposed daughter of Frau Praatgern, but in reality that of Richard, is called in to instruct and prompt Charlotte, and, in doing so, she is discovered by Jungwitz, who is already disenchanted by his intended bride. The consequence is that Jungwitz falls in love with Lenore and claims her as his bride instead of the foolish Charlotte. Not only are the plots of the two plays similar, but there is a striking similarity of detail. In both plays the visitors arrive quite unexpectedly and thereby cause some confusion. Cf.

"Agneta: Es ist in unserer ganzen Freundschaft kein Gebrauch, dass wir anders als des Sonntags Gäste haben." (*Bookesbeutel*, I, 6).

and—

² Edited for A. Sauer's *Deutsche Litt. Denkm. des 18. und 19. Jahrh.*, 56–57, by F. Heilmüller, Leipzig, 1896.

³ Cf. Reprint, p. 20, line 12 f.

¹ Cf. F. Muncker, *Die Bremer Beiträge*, II (Kürschners *Deutsche Nat. Litt.*, xlv), p. 121.